

were enough to prompt my decision to copy the Top Secret Pentagon Papers. I was sure his threats would not succeed, and would instead prolong the ground war and enlarge the air war, with heavy further casualties on both sides. If I had known then about Nixon's imminent nuclear threats and plans and had any documents on these, I would have revealed them immediately, instead of the history in the Pentagon Papers, which ended in 1968 before Nixon came to office.

Later, when the papers were published in 1971, Henry Kissinger's fear that I *did* know about Nixon's nuclear threats and plans, and might have documents to back it up, was sufficient reason for him to regard me as "the most dangerous man in America,"<sup>260</sup> who "must be stopped at all costs." As I mentioned in the introduction, it was the unlikely exposure of White House crimes against me—actions precisely intended to avert my revealing documents from the Nixon administration, beyond the period of the Pentagon Papers—that led to Nixon's resignation facing impeachment, making the war endable nine months later.

What had prevented Nixon's test<sup>261</sup> of the madman theory from being carried out in 1969 was neither any leak of his threats and plans nor any North Vietnamese compliance with them. It was, as Nixon recounted in his memoirs, the fact that two million Americans took part on October 15 in the "Moratorium" (a general strike by another name), a nationwide weekday work- and school-stoppage protesting the war. Another demonstration, focused on Washington, was scheduled for two days in mid-November. As Nixon says, it was clear to him, given the scale of the first demonstration, that his ultimatum would fail. The North Vietnamese would not believe that he could continue such attacks in the face of this unprecedented popular resistance.

He secretly gave up his plans for attacking the North at that time. But he continued until the end of the month with a secret global alert of SAC—deliberately designed to be visible to Soviet intelligence but not to the American public, with the intent of making his nuclear threats credible to the Soviets and the North Vietnamese while keeping them unknown to the public.